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they are inaccessible because of deep water on the ice. Therefore the Eskimo have been obliged for the rest of the season to depend on terrestrial game, especially on musk-oxen.

It is a well-known fact that the Eskimo in former times did migrate from Greely Fjord over Grant Land to Robeson Channel, and it is very interesting to note that their winter houses are known only around Lake Hazen, whereas on the seashore around Hall Basin only summer camps are known. Further we may recall that the Eskimo left in these regions by Peary during one of his last expeditions, settled round Lake Hazen and had plenty of musk-ox tallow for heating and illuminating their huts.

The routes over Grant Land and through Wandels Dal are nearly of the same distance; in both places we find extensive hunting grounds around a great lake with musk-oxen and hares which can be secured by moonlight during the dark season and, in both places, the summer camps are on the seashore. This coincidence can hardly be accidental, and probably we have to search for the winter huts belonging to the northernmost summer camps of both coasts of Greenland on the shores of the lake in Wandels Dal.

LAUGE KOCH

#### A SUGGESTED ORIGIN FOR GENTILE ORGANIZATION

IN place of a single origin for sibs, recent tendencies have been to suggest a variety of possible origins. The historic problem is always to determine which of the possible ways is most probable. Lowie<sup>1</sup> has suggested how residence rules or inheritance laws might produce sib groupings. I will try to show how a gentile system might arise among the Havasupai of northern Arizona, by a further accentuation of present conditions in (1) the composition of camp groups, (2) the inheritance of farm lands, and (3) the degrees within which blood relationship is recognized.

The Havasupai have one permanent village occupied from April to October. Thirty-eight camps are scattered through the village, each on its own farm lands. The typical camp consists of several houses: one for a man, his wife, and small children, another housing an adult son and his young family, a third a second son, and so on. In the first house the newly married husband of a daughter will be

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<sup>1</sup> Primitive Society, chapter VII, "History of the Sib."

found, for despite the fact that the village is not more than two miles in extent, temporary matrilocal residence is practised. Adult sons living elsewhere will return in a year or two with their wives to take up permanent residence at their father's camp. Such a camp group constitutes an economic unit, usually eating a common meal and laboring together in the family fields.

While the farm lands are commonly spoken of as those of the father, they really belong to the family. All members of the camp group, male and female, plant in them. There is a tendency toward the segregation of some part for the more exclusive use of a married son and his family. These divisions become fixed as the families grow up, separate, and reproduce the original conditions. Fields pass by inheritance to the resident survivors (excepting the daughter's husband), hence not normally to a widow's kinsmen or a daughter's children. Although a daughter goes with her husband to till his father's land, she retains some right in her own family lands. Thus, a widow (particularly one married but a short time) may return to live with her own family, or land may be temporarily set aside on which a daughter may raise crops for her children's support, despite the fact that she resides with her husband's kinsmen. The daughter's right equals that of the sons, but she does not transmit it.

This is practically patrilineal inheritance of farm lands and of group affiliation. If, first, the two were consistently coupled, and, second, interest in real property and its inheritance somewhat heightened in native consciousness, so that all those with common property rights should feel themselves a group, we should find each camp group a gens (lacking the exogamous feature). Such a "paternal family" corresponds to the Iroquois maternal family of Goldenweiser. It may be objected that such group consciousness would not be likely to arise in thirty-eight small camps. It has been pointed out, however, that there occurs a tendency for the reduction, first, of the number of biological groups represented in a population, and, second, a similar reduction of the number of named groups (i.e. those in which affiliation is fixed by unilateral descent.)<sup>2</sup> The number of owning groups would thus in the long run be materially reduced, and their consciousness correspondingly increased, provided there were no counter tendencies toward separation.

Whether or not exogamy is an essential function of a sib, it is possible to show these gentes might at the same time become exoga-

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<sup>2</sup> Boas, *The Origin of Totemism* (*American Anthropologist*, n.s., 18, 1916, 326).

mous. One may not marry a blood relative. In such a small tribe all individuals must be related by blood, hence "blood relations" constitute an arbitrarily selected class. At present relatives more distant than those with a common great-grandparent are not recognized. For an exogamous gens all blood relatives of the father through males must be included in the prohibited class, in addition to the recognized relatives of the mother. If the property concept is further developed as suggested, then it is possible that connection with the father's relatives through males will be traced to a greater degree than with any mother's relative. This is a condition of exogamous gentile organization.<sup>3</sup>

Hence it is possible that gentes arise from the Havasupai situation by (1) an emphasis on land inheritance furthering the tracing of the paternal lineage, (2) regularity of patrilocal residence on family lands fixing patrilineal group affiliation, and (3) the extension of kinship recognition in the father's line. This suggested origin is only hypothetical, but it contains no factor unknown to Havasupai society. It might be doubted, however, that it would develop in the face of their acquaintance with Hopi and Navaho maternal principles.

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<sup>3</sup> It is obvious that such a group need not be named.